

UNITED WE ARE STRONG ON THE ROAD TO NATIONAL LIBERTY



"The Unirea Neagră și Crâșna" (bottom, right) celebrating the union of the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (1859) by Th. Aman; "The Attack on Smirdan" (bottom, left), during the Independence War (1877) by N. Grigorescu.

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ROMANIAN NEWS

JOINT MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES AND MASS AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

NICOLAE CEAUSSESCU EXPLODING HOME

On
THE CURRENT STAGE OF ROMANIAN SOCIALIST
SOCIETY AND THE PROSPECTS OF ITS FUTURE
DEVELOPMENT, THE IMPROVEMENT
OF SOCIOECONOMIC MANAGEMENT,
THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY
WORKER DEMOCRACY; THE ROLE OF THE STATE
AND OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES. THE GROWING
ROLE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
AND IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL-EDUCATIVE
ACTIVITY, THE RISING LEVEL OF SCIENTIFIC
KNOWLEDGE, CULTURE, OF REVOLUTIONARY
CONSCIOUSNESS, THE RATIO OF FORCES
AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

(PAGES 3-14)

HOMAGE TO THE GREAT UNION

A BIG CIVIC RALLY DE-
VOTED TO THE ANNIVERSARY OF 70 YEARS
SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNITARY
ROMANIAN NATIONAL STATE TOOK PLACE IN
THE CAPITAL'S REPUBLICII SQUARE ON
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30. PRESIDENT
NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU MADE A BRIEF SPEECH
BEFORE THE OVER 120,000 CITIZENS WHO
HAD COME FROM ALL THE COUNTRY'S CO-
UNTIES AND FROM BUCHAREST MUNICI-
PALITY TO MARK SEVEN DECADES SINCE THE
GREAT UNION OF 1918.

1918-1988

(see page 16)



In the presence of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, the works of the eighth session of the ninth legislative term of the Grand National Assembly were opened on Thursday, December 1. Under debate are important documents regarding Romania's socioeconomic development in the fourth year of the current five-year plan period.

SESSION OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The plans, as well as the state budget for next year, which are being debated by the Grand National Assembly, ensure continued development of the productive forces, at a steady pace, the continuation of the positive growth in socialist production, the strong association of the new technological revolution and of the new agrarian revolution, the increase in the national income, the continuation of the policy of consolidating the military potential, etc.

JOINT MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES AND MASS AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

The works of the Joint Meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, of democratic bodies, and mass and social organizations were held under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Bucharest over November 28–30.

Full and alternate members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Central Auditing Commission, the members of the National Council of Working People, the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development, the National Council of Sciences and Education, the Socialist Culture and Education Council, of executive bureaus of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils, the Central Council of the General Trade Union Conference of Romania, the National Women's Council, the Higher Health Council, members of bureaus of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Union of Communist Students' Association of Romania, the National Council of Young Pioneers' Organization, leaders of execution bureaus, leading cadres of the central press.

The following questions were included in the agenda:

1. The current stage of Romanian socialist society and prospects of its future development, the improvement of socioeconomics management, the development of revolutionary worker democracy; the role of the state and of democratic bodies. The growing role of the Romanian Communist Party and ideological, political, scientific, cultural, artistic, scientific, cultural, educational, and mass organizations.

2. The development of agriculture and self-sufficiency and the growth of the working people's living standard; the Council for foreign economic relations and international cooperation; the activities of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, of the executive bureaus of its component central bodies was also held.

On the afternoon of November 29, the Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Working People, the Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Sciences and Education, the Plenary Meeting of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education and the Plenary Meeting of the Higher Health Council were held.

The draft stage of socioeconomics development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1989.

3. The draft plan of the development of agriculture, food industry, light industry, silviculture and water management in 1989.

4. The draft centralized financial plan of the socioeconomics activity and the draft State Budget for 1989.

5. The programme concerning self-management and self-supply, ensuring the good supply of the population with food products and industrial consumer goods in 1989.

In the opening of the works, Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania presented the Exposition on THE CURRENT STAGE OF ROMANIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE PROSPECTS OF ITS FUTURE DEVELOPMENT, THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIOECONOMIC MANAGEMENT, THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKER DEMOCRACY, THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES. THE OROWING ROLE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL-EDUCATIVE ACTIVITY, THE RISING LEVEL OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE, CULTURE, OF REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS, THE RATIO OF FORCES AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

The exposition was broadcasted live by the national radio and television networks.

Ioan Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, Secretary of the CC of the RCP, proposed that the exposition be adopted as the work and action programme of the party, of the whole people, that it should at the basis of the whole activity

of preparing and carrying out in 1989, the Fourteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the next five-year socioeconomics development plan and Socialist Republic of Romania's development until the year 2000.

The participants fully approved of this proposal, voicing their adhesion to the ideas and guidelines enunciated in Nicolae Ceaușescu's Exposition, their firm determination, to set for unwillingly transalpine their lot life.

The proceedings of the joint meeting were held half by plenum and in councils by branche of activity: the Council for planning and the raw materials, fuel and energy base; the Council for the metallurgical industry and machine engineering; the Council for the light industry, petrochemistry and light industries; the Council for industrial construction and communications; the Council for transport and telecommunications; the Council for questions related to the socio-economy and the state, to the scientific management of society and the development of socialist democracy, to the improvement of the socioeconomics management and the continuous rise of living standards; the Council for the economic activity; the Council for the questions of self-management and self-sufficiency and the upgrading of the working people's living standard; the Council for foreign economic relations and international cooperation; a meeting of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, of the executive bureaus of its component central bodies was also held.

On the afternoon of November 29, the Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Working People, the Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Sciences and Education, the Plenary Meeting of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education and the Plenary Meeting of the Higher Health Council were held.

The participants in the debates highlighted the importance of the planks and programmes on the agenda, whose provisions are in harmony with the requirements of the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the Party and ensure the uninterrupted growth of the productive forces, the intensive development of industry, agriculture, of the entire economy, of the other sectors and fields of activity, the ceaseless growth of the national wealth and, with the rise, on the basis, of the people's material and cultural welfare.

The participants in the joint meeting unanimously adopted the draft stage of socioeconomics development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1989; the draft Plan of developing agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management in 1989; the draft centralized financial plan of socioeconomics activity and the draft State Budget for 1989.

The participants in the debates analysed the activity conducted by the county, municipal, town and commune councils of the SDUR, by the commissarial, county and public organizations for mobilizing all working people to fulfilling this year's programme, for improving the organization of and modernizing production processes, for raising the technical, qualitative and competitive level of products, for enhancing economic efficiency in all areas.

The participants in the joint meeting unanimously adopted the documents included in the agenda and the Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

In conclusion of the works, Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, appreciated that he ensured a good material basis for satisfying the needs of the whole people to the best possible level.

All people's councils, all branches of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front took the floor.

The discussions held during the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People focused on the socioeconomics National Plan of Socioeconomics Development, the Plan of development of agriculture, food industry, silviculture and water management, of the Centralized Financial Plan of the Social and Economic Activity and of the State Budget for 1989 as well as on the Self-management and Self-supply Programme for the ensuring of a good supply of the population with farm products and industrial consumer goods.

At the same time, the joint meeting discussed a report on the improvement of the performance of the working people's councils for the fulfillment of their role and prerogatives enunciated by the law and part of the worker-worker democracy.

The plenary meeting of the National Council of Sciences and Education analyzed the way in which the decisions of the Thirteenth Congress and of the National Conference of the Party are carried out in the field of science and education, the activity undertaken for fulfilling the plan of scientific research, technological development and introduction of the technical progress in 1988, and of the plan of ensuring the labour force developing educational and improving the staff training.

It also discussed at large the tasks undertaken on these sectors during the upcoming year.

As part of the plenary meeting of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, the debates highlighted that through

out 1988 the activity of the Council of the culture and art bodies and institutions in Romania has been focused on radically improving the ensemble of the cultural, educational, artistic and creative work and organized the political and educational, cultural-artistic events organized by cultural and art bodies, unions and associations of creators as part of the State's Romania National Festival.

The plenum of the Higher Health Council assessed the analysis of the way in which the sanitary personnel has taken action to carry through the health and demographic policy promoted by the Romanian Congress and the Thirteenth Congress and National Conference of the Party and the state. The health programme, the decisions adopted by the Thirteenth Congress and National Conference of the Party.

The debates shed light on the business and viability of the Party and its General Secretariat: we have everything in reserve: we have a good base and I should like to stress – first of all – that we have a wonderful worker-class, intelligent, a wonderful people which is really works hard, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party – the living political force of our society in order to save Romania's highest peaks of peace and civilization.

Fully justified were the speakers of today who pointed out that the great achievements so far made in socioeconomics development, in the public construction, in the building of the scientific, cultural, educational, cultural and spiritual life of the country in the course of the revolution, in the importance of the requirements of the Plenary Meeting in concord with the latest laid down in the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the Party, with the requirements of Romania's socioeconomics development in the ongoing stage, the intensification of the production forces, the intensification and modernization of industry, agriculture, of all branches of the national economy, the upgrading of the national wealth and, with the rise, on the basis, of the people's material and cultural welfare.

The speakers stressed that the provisions of the draft plans on the agenda of the Plenary Meeting are in concord with the latest laid down in the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the Party, with the requirements of Romania's socioeconomics development in the ongoing stage, the intensification of the production forces, the intensification and modernization of industry, agriculture, of all branches of the national economy, the upgrading of the national wealth and, with the rise, on the basis, of the people's material and cultural welfare.

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5. The report on the growth of the role and prerogatives of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front bodies in fulfilling the plans and programmes organized by cultural and art bodies, unions and associations of creators as part of the State's Romania National Festival.

The participants in the debates stressed the decisive role played by the Party General Secretary, President of the Republic, Nicolae Ceaușescu, in substantiating the plan and programmes of socioeconomics development in Romania.

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According to the provisions of the draft plans we have enough to make everything available for the future of the socioeconomics development, in the public construction, in the building of the scientific, cultural, educational, cultural and spiritual life of the country in the course of the revolution, in the importance of the requirements of the Plenary Meeting in concord with the latest laid down in the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the Party, with the requirements of Romania's socioeconomics development in the ongoing stage, the intensification of the production forces, the intensification and modernization of industry, agriculture, of all branches of the national economy, the upgrading of the national wealth and, with the rise, on the basis, of the people's material and cultural welfare.

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(cont. from p. 3)

We may say, without fear of being wrong, that these have been the most dramatic, deepest and most complex debates within the Party, especially in the entire period of socialist construction, that they have shed light on the creative force and capacity of our Party and people to ensure the unfailing implementation of the programmes for socio-economic development and the firm advance of Romania to the fulfillment of our people's and all mankind's golden dream — communism.

Moreover, the debates have strongly asserted that a scientific analysis, be it very succinct, should be made of our people's whole development, since the setting up of the first centralized state of the Dacians, 2,000 years ago, as well as of the main historical landmarks in the making of the Romanian people and the Romanian nation.

At the same time, the main moments of our people's struggle against foreign domination, for independence, for economic and social progress should be brought into relief.

In this context, we shall have to underscore most vigorously the role of the working class of the revolutionary workers' movement in Romania starting in the so-

second half of the 19th century, the setting up of the party of the working class in 1903 and that of the Romanian Communist Party, in 1921.

We shall have to shed broad light on the activity of the Party, of the revolutionary worker movement in leading the struggle of the masses, of the democratic, antifascist and anti-imperialist forces in the period between two wars and in the carrying on of the revolution of social and national liberation.

Only upon this basis will we understand better the situation of Romania in 1941 and the significance of Romania's embarking on the socialist road, for socioeconomic development, for the well-being and happiness of our entire people. Only if we are aware of the situation of this country in the past can we better understand that socialism alone made possible the elimination of the imperialist foreign domination, the elimination of backwardness, and helped achieve over a long historical period, the development of the productive forces of an agricultural society, the general uplifting of the entire nation's civilization standard, the progress of sciences, education, culture, the constant upgrading of the entire people's material and cultural well-being, and turn Romania — in four decades — into a strong industrial-agrarian state in full swing of development, while maintaining the material and spiritual force, the independence and sovereignty of Romania.

Also, it is imperative that we should cast strong light on the role of the working class of the revolutionary workers' movement in Romania starting in the so-

in the growth and making of the Romanian people and of the Romanian nation, and Bărcăianu, Micean the Great, Stephen the Great, Ionel of Hunedoara, Michael the Brave, Brâncoveanu, Vlad Tepes, Petru Rareș and others — whose deeds and sacrifices put down their names in Romania's golden history.

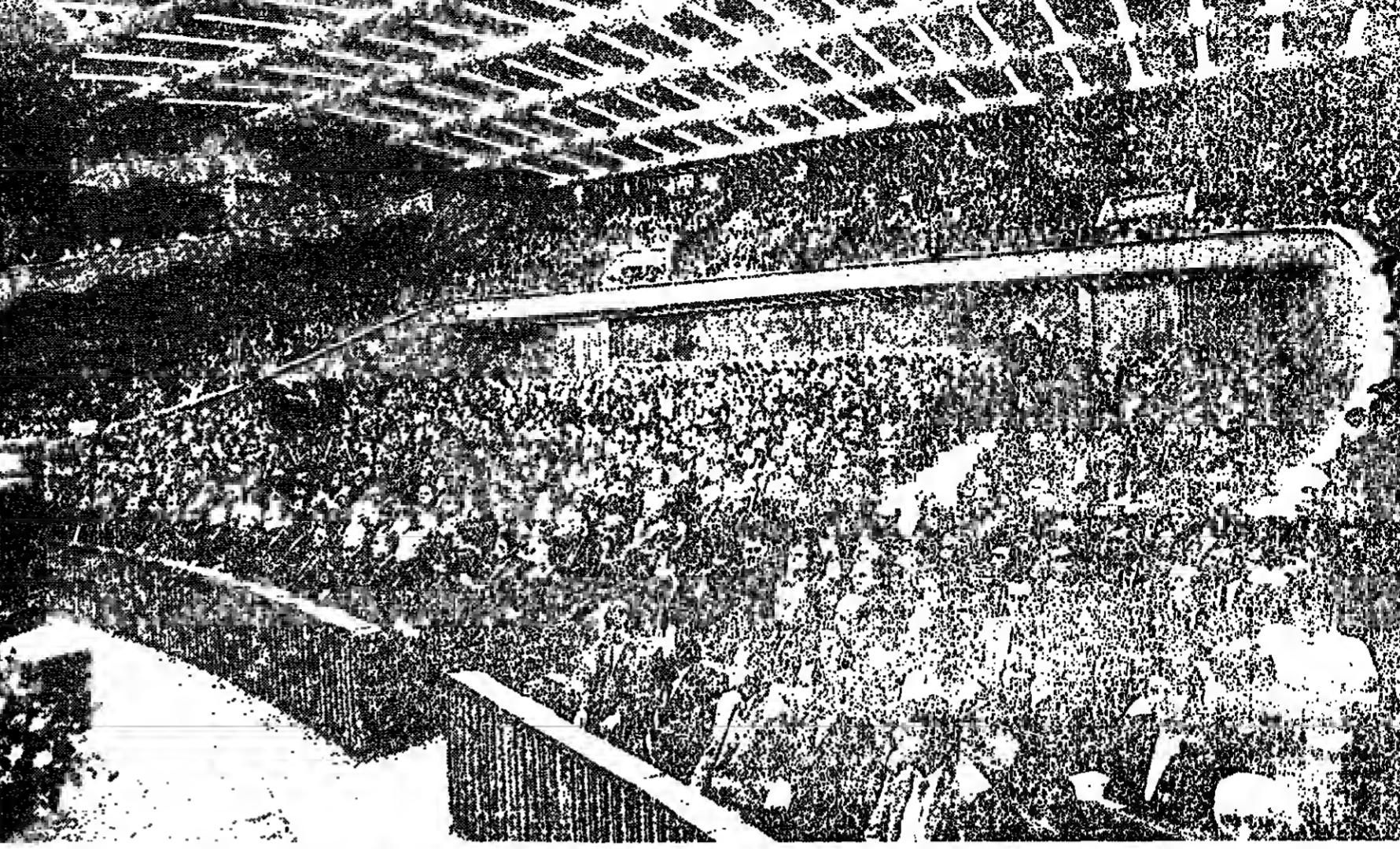
The achievement of the unification of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania — the making of the Romanian national state, of the nation that was due to foreign domination but that, and later to the exploitation and oppression by the three big empires — the Ottoman Empire, the Tsarist Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Really — the true judge — shows that these hardships could not prevent the making of the Romanian people, its wish to unite in an independent unitary state.

Recorded forever in our homeland's golden history are also the struggles of the serfs of the peasants and of other progressive forces — the revolution of Bo-

bile, the revolution led by Florescu and Crisan, the 1821 revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu, and other significant moments in the struggles for social and national liberation, for economic and serial progress.

History as a whole strongly denotes that the delay in the making of the Romanian Principalties and of the Romanian national state, of the nation that was due to foreign domination but that, and later to the exploitation and oppression by the three big empires — the Ottoman Empire, the Tsarist Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Really — the true judge — shows that these hardships could not prevent the making of the Romanian people, its wish to unite in an independent unitary state.

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2. The Emergence of the Working-Class Movement — a Superior Stage in the Romanian People's Revolutionary Struggle for Social and National Liberation

Dear comrades,

During the mid-19th century, capitalism began to sprout in all three Romanian Principalities — Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania — triggering off the emergence of the working class on the historical scene; the bourgeoisie was also furthering its historical role by ensuring the development of the Romanian productive forces.

The 1848 bourgeois-democratic revolution evinced the existence of some powerful democratic bourgeois and popular socialist forces, in the Principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania struggling to do away with the feudal order and to build a superior social system.

The defeat of the 1848 bourgeois-democratic revolution, as a consequence of the foreign empires' intervention, prevented the implementation of the homeland's democratic development goals, and strongly influenced the whole subsequent development.

Nevertheless an important development of the primitive forces on a capitalist basis was known to have been reached during the latter half of the 19th century, preserving at the same time a strong feudal ownership with all its influences.

The 1859 Union of the Principalities — Wallachia and Moldavia — under Cuza, and the creation of the Romanian state, that made up the core of the military alliance, played an important part in the evolution of our people.

The 1877 Independence war and the proclamation of state independence were highly significant during that ironclad period, as they ensured better conditions for the development of the productive forces, of the whole socio-economic activity.

Two mention must be made of the fact that with the emergence of the working class, its first organized groups — socialist formations — were established, the socialist press and other works appeared, thus playing an important part inRomanian socio-economic life, in the whole development.

Special references should be made of the creation in 1893 of the Romanian Social Democratic Workers' Party, the first working-class party.

One can state that the 18th and 19th centuries were decisive in the development and assertion of the Romanian people. The union of the small state structures, of the voivodships, and the creation of the Principality of Wallachia, the Principality of Moldavia and of Transylvania was the historic moment of the Romanians' political rebirth, of its development and union into a unitary people, and later on, into the Romanian nation.

The conservative, patriarchal of Daco-Latin culture played an important part in Romanian culture and literature, rooted in the symbolic Daco-Roman civilization, in the omnipotent Latin civilization, which determined our people's behaviour, customs, way of thinking and living.

Over a long interval from a social and political point of view — all social systems and the primitive communal system, the slave system, the feudal system — and then capitalist society, succeeded one another, under various forms over our homeland's territory, we are now in the higher stage of socialist society.

Moreover, mention should be made of the oxialion, all that form of exploitation, of usury, of slavery and other social strata that played a significant role in the Romanian people's economy and in the Romanian people's economic and social development.

The materialistic-dialectical survey of this country's whole development shows with the force of hard, incontrovertible facts that the decisive role in the growth and making of our people, of the nation was played by the people's masses, the people's work, which work had struggled, built its own right basis, shaped its culture, language, free life, and ensured the making of the Romanian nation, and eventually of the unitary Romanian state.

The inconceivable scientific proofs — verified and archaeological — strongly attest to the fact that along the centuries the inhabitants of our homeland's territories organized their own organic and centralized state and fought valiantly in defense of their national home, language and ancestors' land, while coexisting and coexisting peacefully with other peoples, with their neighbours primarily.

In the spirit of scientific, historical truth, we must point out that the Thracian-Dacian civilization that developed over present-day Romania's territory exerted a strong influence in the area, being in its turn, influenced by the great civilizations

III. THE FAR-REACHING REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS WROUGHT IN THE YEARS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION; THE PHASES OF THE PROCESS OF BUILDING AND DEVELOPING THE NEW SYSTEM IN ROMANIA

2. The Transition to Organizing the Entire Socioeconomic Life on Socialist Bases, to Building Socialism

Dear comrades,

branches actually hampered accumulation and the development of the respective sectors and of the entire national economy.

Mistakes were made, serious shortcomings were manifest, unfortunately, even socialist legality was violated, which hampered the socialist development of our country.

The fact should be stressed that it is in this period that strong forces, actually anti-socialist, counterrevolutionaries, were utilized that denied the force and capability of the Romanian language and culture.

Creative activities were restricted, a wrong conception emerged according to which there was no need to develop one's own science and technology.

Undoubtedly, this state of affairs bore negatively on the carrying through of the first stage of socialist construction.

That is why, one may say that, although the organization of society on socialist bases — state and cooperative property — was completed by and large in 1953, Romania continued to be a developing country, in the lower group of this category.

This is what the Romanian economy looked like in 1965:

fixed assets	460 thousand million lei
— national income	311 thousand million lei
— in industry	77 thousand million lei
— in agriculture	37 thousand million lei
— in trade	33 thousand million lei
— in services	33 thousand million lei
— economic	
— active work force	6,600,000
— in industry	1,800,000
— in agriculture	6,800,000
— remuneration	
— average	57 thousand million lei
— communer	1,000 lei
— lowest	600 lei
— cooperation	

These figures show that important achievements were scored as early as 1944 until that we were only at the beginning of socialist construction, of strong economic and social development in Romania.

Now, when we look back at the road covered and analyzed, we fully linking into memory that period that was achieved.

In addition, we may assess with good reason that in 20 years, from 1945, when two distinct development stages were completed — development on new bases, literacy being completely eradicated.

The entire sector of national government was a historic moment in Romania's entire history, the period of democratic development, of the complete liquidation of the imperialist domination.

We greatly value the important, historic role in the people's struggle, the activity of various personalities — among them Bărcăianu, Cuza, Kogălniceanu and so many others — who ranked the interests of the country at that time and the future of our people above everything else.

And yet, I want once again to say that at the time when Romania embarked on socialist construction, it still was a poorly developed country, and our people's standard of living was very low.

Under those circumstances, the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party in 1948 proclaimed the necessity of a new policy of Romania's development and industrialization, to combat the backwardness and the abysmal poverty of the classes removed from power and the imperialist circles' action against our country.

At the same time, the state of backwardness had to be liquidated and about two thousand million dollars worth of reparations had to be paid.

At the beginning of 1948, the main budget of the party of the socialist construction square.

(cont. on p. 5)

1. Romania's Embarking on the Road of Democratic Development, of Fully Eliminating Imperialist Domination

Dear comrades,

Trade unions were organized as well as the Union of Communist Youth, women's and other mass and youth organizations that mobilized and rallied the broad masses of people in one direction — to save Romania from backwardness and ruin, to ensure its independent economic and social development.

It was under these circumstances that the People's War was proclaimed on December 23, 1947 and the stamp of party of the working class was formed in February 1948.

We must mention that the span of one hundred years, from the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848 until the passage to the socialist revolution in 1948, was, historically speaking, a long period for our country, the national economy that war and the influence of foreign monopolies had destroyed.

At the same time, Romania, our party and the democratic forces were faced with the arduous task of the rehabilitation of the national economy and social development.

At that stage, our country continued to develop as a bourgeois-democratic state. The democratic workers' government that was formed on March 8, 1945 was a historic moment in Romania's entire history, the period of democratic development, of the complete liquidation of the imperialist domination.

We greatly value the important, historic role in the people's struggle, the activity of various personalities — among them Bărcăianu, Cuza, Kogălniceanu and so many others — who ranked the interests of the country at that time and the future of our people above everything else.

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(cont. on p. 5)

(cont. from p. 3)
That is why we must understand that, in the activity of the revolutionary worker movement, of the Romanian Communist Party, of other mass-based democratic forces, many communists and revolutionary patriots laid down their lives for the homeland's liberation, for the liquidation of oppression, for the victory of the new socialist system.

Our party and people value and will always value all those who at important moments of the homeland's history, of our people's fight, did their duty to our nation, to the homeland, to the cause of socialism and communism!

3. The Ninth Party Congress Ushered in a New Revolutionary Epoch in the Party's Activity, in Socialist Construction in Romania

Dear comrades,

The Ninth Party Congress analysed in a critical and self-critical spirit the activity in the first stage of socialist construction in Romania and set the goals of our homeland's socioeconomic development in the new stage of socialist construction, starting in 1993.

The second stage, which can be said to have covered three five-year-plan periods' — 1991-1995 — is the creation of a strong socialist industry on the basis of the latest gains of science and technique, the development of the other areas of activity, the consolidation of the socialist sector in agriculture and the growth of the agricultural output.

At the same time, special heed was paid to the scientific research work, the improvement of education, of cultural and political-cultural activities.

In the second stage of socialist construction, 1991-1995, Romania became an industrial-agricultural country in full swing of development.

We may say with good reason that the Ninth Party Congress ushered in a new revolutionary era in the activity of the Party, in socialist construction in Romania. An end was put to conservatism, eclecticism and the theory of the "single model" of socialist construction.

The attitude of subservience to anything that was foreign was done away with, and the Party and the people's confidence in their creative forces, in their capacity of thinking and acting, their sense of pride, revolutionary dignity were restored.

In the entire activity we set out from the fact that the implementation of the general objective laws of the principles of socialism differs from country to country, from socioeconomic development stage to socioeconomic development stage.

The Report submitted to the Ninth

equally of rights among all our homeland's citizens, without distinction.

As the rate of agriculture was restored as a basic branch of our homeland's socioeconomic development, of socialist construction, action has been taken for the powerful growth of farm production; big irrigation systems have been built over nearly four million hectares, and important works have been carried out for land reclamation and irrigation, all in the interests of view, meeting the requirements of physical and intellectual labour.

The health care system has largely been developed with the help of hospitals, dispensaries and other institutions.

In its ruling policy our party has been taking into account the fact that the standard of living and cultural

development is the fundamental condition for the further development of socialist production, the very basis of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Comrades, stressed:

"Marxism is a live science, which develops and gets constantly richer, synthesizing historical experience and the conclusions of socialist development. When elaborating this teaching, the fundamental truths of which are brilliantly confirmed by life, the classes at Marxism could not provide definitive answers to all the concrete problems that arise as a consequence of the victory of socialism in a number of countries, or analysis of the numerous contradictions in socialist construction in their variety, and the problems of the relationships between socialist states. To study and settle these problems is the duty of each communist party, which in this way makes its contribution to enriching the common experience of the revolutionary movement. Many in the classes of Marxism-Leninism understood that the Marx-Leninist theory is not dogma, but a guide in action, that self-reliant interpretation of the theory is necessary, since the latter only supplies guiding principles which are applied differently in this or that country."

In the spirit of these theoretical and practical programme determinations, in the 23 years elapsed since the Ninth Party Congress measures have been taken for the continuous improvement of the economic mechanism, of the management of all sectors of activity, of the entire democratic system of management of our society.

Castling a retrospective glance at the entire activity undertaken all these years, we may say with justified pride that this has been an age of enormous transformations and remarkable achievements in all domains, which fully confirmed the correctness of one Party's outlook on the implementation of general laws of socialist principles in accord with the realities and conditions in Romania.

IV. THE CURRENT STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THE PHASE OF BUILDING THE MULTILATERALLY DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

1. The Historic Achievements Scored by the Romanian People in the Country's Economic and Social Development

In this period, industrial output has grown 122 times, export 184. New modern branches have been created. Steel production has grown some 120 times, oil output of the chemical industry, more than 1,800 times and that of the machine building industry over 500 times. The light, food and consumer goods industries have seen a powerful development. All sectors have developed considerably.

Agricultural output has risen more than 100 times.

At the same time, into the accumulated national wealth has reached 4,100 billion million lei, and productive fixed assets some 2,000 billion million lei. The national income has increased over 30 times, and the general remuneration fund some 75 times compared to 1945.

It should be stressed that 80 per cent of them have been recorded after the Ninth Congress of the Party.

While the strong development of industry on the basis of the total colonialistic gains was placed at the centre of the activity of socialist construction, the aims of the productive forces in all the branches and regions of the country also have been.

In the last 20 years, nearly 8,000 enterprises have been set up both in old centres and in the over 180 new industrial areas.

The correct distribution of the productive forces of industry all over the country's territory is one of the major achievements of socialist construction in this country, which secures working opportunities for the working people in all branches, the rise of their material and spiritual living standards, of the general living conditions of the entire people.

It is clear that with the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-colonialist revolution of nations and social liberto

and development of our homeland's economy.

The consumption fund and consumption products have increased over 18 times compared to 1945 to ensure better living conditions for all working people, especially for the most difficult groups of the population.

As a matter of fact, the average capita consumption of about 1,200 lei covers Romania among the strongest countries in the world.

Mass consumption has been built on the basis of collective ownership, and important works have been carried out for land reclamation and soil improvement, the results of which are reflected in the growth of the output of all the other agricultural sectors.

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The industrial output has risen more than 100 times in the period subsequent to the Ninth Congress, export 184 times, the accumulated national wealth has reached 4,100 billion million lei, and productive fixed assets some 2,000 billion million lei, in about 215 thousand million lei for this year. The average remuneration fund has grown nearly three times: the minimum remuneration has also augmented over 32 times.

More than three million people benefit from the pension system, and some five million children receive child benefits.

It can be said that the lucums of the entire population of Romania — in one form or another — are virtually connected to the development of industry, agriculture and the social sectors, that each citizen's means are related to the dev-

elopment of socioeconomic activity.

The socialist society completely reflected exploitation, the suppression of man by man.

The sum of all economic and social activities in our socialist society is the general increase of the national wealth through the development of the total production of all sectors, of science, of education and of culture, of health care, of the improvement of general living, the improvement of the working people, the improvement of the conditions of working people. There are neither rich nor poor workers, people who have lived and decent material and cultural bases, standards and free freely building the future as this will be to us.

We are looking at what we have achieved with justified pride, but also with a desire to act most firmly with a view to attaining shortcomings and errors in the entire activity, this case the multiplying attainment of the strategic goals of the Party.

All the big industrial, agrarian, cultural and other projects have changed the whole face of our homeland, the landscape and villages, the civilization standards of Romania.

The material development of socioeconomic activity has ensured the continual increase of the working personnel in other activity sectors too. Out of a total economically active population of 11 million, some eight million work in industry and other sectors, and over three million in agriculture — in state agricultural enterprises and private cooperative farms.

The remuneration fund has risen nearly six times in the period subsequent to the Ninth Congress, export 184 times, the accumulated national wealth has reached 4,100 billion million lei, and productive fixed assets some 2,000 billion million lei, in about 215 thousand million lei for this year. The average remuneration fund has grown nearly three times: the minimum remuneration has also augmented over 32 times.

We are looking at what we have achieved with justified pride, but also with a desire to act most firmly with a view to attaining shortcomings and errors in the entire activity, this case the multiplying attainment of the strategic goals of the Party.

Over this interval we have introduced a new approach to the system of management, self-management and self-administration in each economic and social unit.

We have created a new system strengthening the direct responsibility of the collectives of working people for the activity of each enterprise, and at the same time we have developed a new democratic framework for management, reflecting the principle of management by one person with the principle of collective leadership.

We have created the councils of working people in all fields of activity, with workers making at least 20 per cent of their membership. We have institutionalized the role of the general assembly of owners and producers in the entire activity of the enterprise. Accordingly, we have created local and national bodies for the masses, the whole people's organization.

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Over this interval we have introduced a new approach to the system of management, self-management and self-administration in each economic and social unit.

From a quantitative point of view we have reached a fine standard of development in many sectors, which ranks Romania among the advanced countries in terms of their share of gross national product and even its gross output and even its gross output as such.

Now, the whole activity must focus on the implementation of the programmes of intensive development, organization and modernization of the industry and of the other branches, setting out from the principles of ensuring the participation of the working people so that they may contribute to the general development of collective property and for their personal participation in the work of their enterprises.

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At that moment, we shall be entitled to state with justified pride that we have successfully covered all the three stages of socialism — the first, the first phase of communism. Only then, like today, will we be able to embark on the socialist building of communism, covering several stages in the full implementation of the communist schedules of work and life in our homeland.

It is only then that our people will step in the golden era of mankind, in the era of true human liberty and dignity.

At the Fourth Party Congress we shall have in mind the plans and programmes setting the priorities of the implementation of the Party Programme. In setting our goals for the next decade and, in the first place, for the 1961–1965 quinquennium, we shall have to proceed from the fact that the development levels of the major industrial sectors, the per capita physical output are consonant with the demands of a developed society. This is why, in the next decade too, throughout the 9th five-year plan period we shall have in mind one criterion — the intensive growth of all industrial activities. The implementation of the prerequisites for the scientific organization and the modernization of production and work upon the foundation provided by the latest gains of science and technology, on the achievement of a new quality of work, of production, in every area of activity. This means that, with the annual volume of raw and subsidiary materials and the total energy consumed we must, by increasing their yield at account, ensure an about 40–50 per cent growth of the value of the marketable production, and in some sectors even more.

We will have to ensure a powerful development of our own base of raw and subsidiary materials and, more particularly, the entire energy necessary for a general course of producing and for agriculture. In this respect, we will have in mind using multi-functional energy sources in a larger extent before this five-year plan period ends, that is next year, so that by using biogas, biomass, the energy of the sun, the wind and thermal water, as well as microhydro-power stations we may fully meet the requirements of the central farms and other agricultural units, of the rural industry and mining, all rural settlements and cities. In the next five-year plan period we must develop industrial structures in the towns and cities, and other economic sectors, so that they make the marks of the years 1955–1960–1965 to a unit with a high-standard scientific activity, with a considerable research might, capable to offer solutions to every new question of socio-economic progress, of the steady uplift of cultural standards, and of our people's general welfare, and at the same time in actively participating in the expansion of international economic relations.

I should like to stress again that during the next decade, starting with the ninth five-year plan we have to give particular heed in broadening international economic, technological and scientific relations, to improving collaboration and specialization within CMEA, cooperation with the other socialist countries, with the world, irrespective of their social systems.

We should undertake to augment, international economic exchanges by 25–30 per cent under the next five-year plan and by about 80 per cent until the year 2000 as compared to the current five-year plan level.

While paying off its foreign debt, Romania should firmly engage itself in important cooperation ventures in introducing an active part in the building of a new world economic and financial system, accounted for, equally and equally, on mutual advantage.

With this as a basis let us provide the necessary conditions for the implementation of the programme of development of agriculture, of the new agrarian revolution.

The forming and stable area of our country will remain the same as in the on-going five-year plan period. There is no possibility of extending it as we must keep the forests, the forest stock intact. Moreover we will have to afforest several tens of thousands of hectares of non-productive land in some counties in keeping with the national plan.

In order to secure the best fulfilment of the project on the fertilization of some 6–7 million ha, to achieve all land reclamation, reworking and financial system, accounted for, equally and equally, on mutual advantage.

While paying off its foreign debt, Romania should firmly engage itself in important cooperation ventures in introducing an active part in the building of a new world economic and financial system, accounted for, equally and equally, on mutual advantage.

2. The Growing Role of State Bodies, of the Other Collective Management Bodies in Carrying out the Country's Development Programmes. Improving Working People's Control over the Whole Socioeconomic Activity

Starting from the programme adopted, from the principles of self-management, self-administration and self-financing, we must take action to improve economic and financial relations so that each unit may be fully self-financed, and a balanced monetary circulation be ensured, in line with the present level of the national economy, with the reduced and social security programmes, through the introduction of new, modern repayment systems apt to bring money circulation down to the minimum.

The responsibility of the financial bodies should be increased, financial control strengthened in all fields, credit systems improved and new measures taken in that direction.

In recent years we have substantially cut the interest on credits for various areas of activity. Facts showed we did the right thing.

At the same time we will have to take first steps against extra credits or the cover-up of losses resulting from the poor work

We should think first of all that the land is the entire people's asset, the main production means in agriculture, which has to supply food to life and culture. Therefore we shall be well informed, and each and every state unit of agriculture and farming land ought to be properly cultivated.

This urges us to strengthen and improve the activity of state agricultural enterprises, of producer cooperative farms, of machine-and-laboratory stations, which should all work in close cooperation and unity within the joint agricultural councils. Generally speaking, the area of the state agricultural enterprises will not and cannot grow any more. Eventually however, the property of productive cooperative farms may increase in the development of agriculture.

Nonetheless, the main question is the good organization of activity in producer farms, their size in keeping with seasons, the switch to intensive farming in all sectors, starting with grains, vegetables, fruit trees, wine-graiving and animal breeding.

Meeting the requirements of the new agricultural revolution is the strategic and most important development of agriculture. Until 1962, at least 45 million bags of grain have to be harvested while large yields of 8,000 kg of wheat and barley per ha have to be generalized and production of 10,000 kg and even more per ha have to be achieved. All areas under irrigation should yield at least 20–25 tons of corn per ha, and over, the yields of 30 tons and over should be attained.

The production of vegetables, grains, fruits and technical crops should also increase, while the production of herbage on pastures and hayfields should be largely augmented. As far as animal husbandry is concerned, the provisions of the programme on cattle and sheep head should be fulfilled while substantially increasing livestock produce.

The ninth five-year plan should ensure a better animal supply with all farm animals, a comprehensive plan to secure both our whole people's health and physical and intellectual vigour.

The fulfillment of the targets of intensive growth of our national economy demands a more sustained research work and an increased role of science in the improvement, modernization and development of industry, agriculture and other sectors. We should do our best for human and scientific research in every field to learn from signs of development of productive forces, of developing the productive forces, and other scientific head which he fulfilled while substantially increasing livestock produce.

The ninth five-year plan period ends, that is next year, so that by using biogas, biomass, the energy of the sun, the wind and thermal water, as well as microhydro-power stations we may fully meet the requirements of the central farms and other agricultural units, of the rural industry and mining, all rural settlements and cities. In the next five-year plan period we must develop industrial structures in the towns and cities, and other economic sectors, so that they make the marks of the years 1955–1960–1965 to a unit with a high-standard scientific activity, with a considerable research might, capable to offer solutions to every new question of socio-economic progress, of the steady uplift of cultural standards, and of our people's general welfare, and at the same time in actively participating in the expansion of international economic relations.

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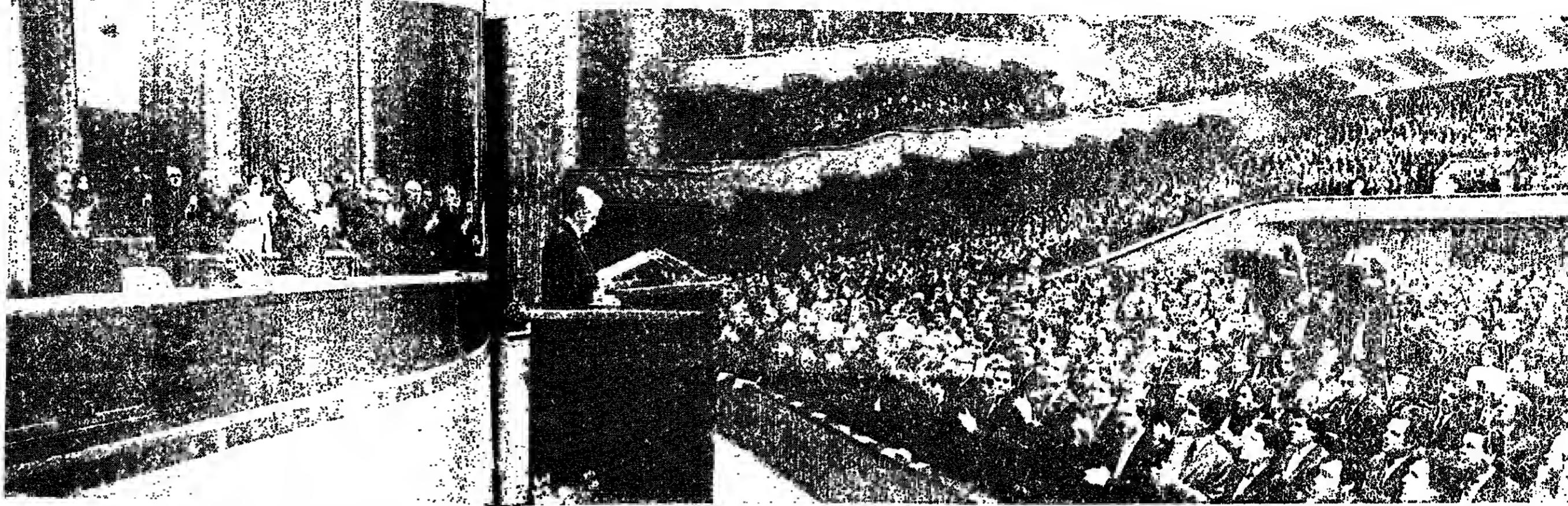
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Comittee of ministers and other

Committee for Science and Technology, as central bodies, should improve their control over the implementation of the plans and programmes of economic and social development, their responsibility for their activity, both to the Council of Ministers, and to the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development and the State Council.

Thus the same, I believe that we should consider strengthening, from top to bottom, the control over the fulfillment of the plans and programmes regarding the homeland's economic and social development.

It emerges as a necessity that the role of the State Council should grow, which, together with the Grand National Assembly, should exert more intense, effective control over the activity of the ministries and other central bodies.

It is also imperative to improve field activities, within ministries and other departments, becomes evident. We must set off the growing role of the mass of the working people to exert control in all fields of activity. Let us review the smooth operation of the state institutions, of the public control committees, so that the members of these bodies may predominantly be units of the working population of the people, so that everyone in his field activity may be held fully responsible before the democratic bodies, the people.

In the conditions of our socialist society, the strengthening of control, bottom to top, is a factor of paramount importance in the smooth conduct of the entire activity, in the democratic participation of the people's active participation in the management of affairs for the furthering of socialism and the progress of agriculture, development of our homeland, of the entire nation, of our people.

Also, it is imperative that the State Planning Committee and the National

3. Firm Promotion of Remuneration According to Work, of Socialist Ethics and Equity Principles

Dear comrades,

This country's active population currently stands at about 11 million. Of the overall active workforce, more than 10 million work in the socialist sectors.

The powerful development of the productive forces of industry, agriculture, science, culture and other activities has created new jobs and provided for the youth's employment in production every year.

In future too we shall grant permanent attention to providing jobs to all able-bodied citizens and to employing youth in the socialist sectors of society.

We shall have to improve this ratio so that in the next decade we may have a powerful development of the productive forces of industry, agriculture, science, culture and other activities, and the principles of socialist ethics and equity principles in production every year.

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